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THE CONTROL OF THE TROPICS

BENJAMIN KIDD

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THE CONTROL OF THE TROPICS



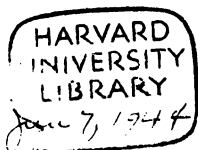
THE
CONTROL OF THE TROPICS

BY
BENJAMIN KIDD
AUTHOR OF "SOCIAL EVOLUTION"

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1898

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*Estate of
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PREFACE

At the present time the two leading sections of the English-speaking world, and particularly the American people, are, in their relations to the tropical regions of the earth, passing through a period of development which, in the result, is likely to profoundly influence the history of the world in the twentieth century.

If the writer's estimate of the forces controlling this development is correct, there is one condition upon which alone permanent success can be expected for any scheme of policy which may be devised or followed in the future: it must be a scheme of policy in accordance with, and proceeding from, the principles which have governed in the past, and which are still governing, the development of these peoples themselves at home.

The aim of the following pages is to bring into clearer view the relationship of these deeper forces to the situation with which the English-speaking world is now confronted in the tropics.

SEPTEMBER, 1898.

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THE CONTROL OF THE TROPICS

I

AT the present time the foremost subject occupying the attention of the American people is one which involves the question of the future government of two of the richest portions of the tropical regions of the earth. In England, at the same time, the public mind is engaged with many serious international questions. It is curious to reflect that nearly all of them, as well as the majority of those which have recently been under discussion, also relate, either directly or indirectly, to the future government of tropical or sub-tropical regions of the earth. Siam, Burma, East Africa, the Niger territories, Egypt, and we may include China, have all provided questions which come under this head.

At the end of the eighteenth century there was drawing to a close a vast rivalry of the

Western Powers of Europe. The statesmen and soldiers who took part therein seemed to themselves to be occupied over and above everything else with questions of thrones, and dynasties, and adjustment of the map of Europe. How comparatively trivial such questions look now, and to what still more dwarfed proportions are they almost certainly destined to shrink in the future, beside the vast world-shaping rivalry which lay behind them all—the struggle of the Western races for the larger inheritance of the future. It is not in adjustments of the map of Europe, however important they may have seemed at the time, that we have had the significant historical events of the last two centuries. The events of real importance, those which are destined to shape and control the tendencies of history into the distant future, are those connected with the struggle for, and the occupation by the winning sections of the Western peoples of, those regions of the world where the white races can live permanently and work.

At the end of the nineteenth century we are in the midst of another epoch of instinctive

rivalry. It is not improbable that to a future observer one of the most curious features of our time will appear to be the same prevailing unconsciousness of the real nature of the issues in the midst of which we are living.

The great rivalry of the past has been determined—decided on the whole overwhelmingly in favour of the English-speaking peoples. It

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has been for the inheritance of the white man's land of the world. [The great rivalry of the

future is already upon us. It is for the inheritance of the tropics, not indeed for possession in the ordinary sense of the word, for that is an idea beyond which the advanced peoples of the world have moved, but for the control of these regions according to certain standards.]

Why there is no longer room for the old belief—never perhaps on the whole seriously entertained—that the tropics may, or even must, be left to take care of themselves, we shall have to discuss further on. Let us in the first place endeavour to fix attention on certain salient and striking facts the significance of which has as yet scarcely been grasped by the general mind.

In the midst of the great controversy which for the last fifty years has raged round the question of free trade, as stated by the English school of economists, there is one aspect of the matter which, though of the first importance, has hitherto, for the most part, remained out of sight. Stated in its simplest and truest form, the central doctrine, upon which the entire English theory of free trade rests, is that it is of the highest advantage that each country should devote itself to those forms of production in which it has a comparative advantage, and that there should be free exchange of all products. As the forces of industrial rivalry have, however, developed themselves among the leading Western nations, as transport and communication have become cheaper and more rapid, and technical knowledge has been more widely distributed and more easily conveyed, rival industries may be seen flourishing in different countries and under varying conditions. The fact has, in short, begun to make itself more and more distinctly felt that the competing nations in most cases possess but little advantage one

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over the other, and that the probable tendency is for even this to become less. There remains, however, in the background one immense sphere of commercial activity, in which the great natural principle that lies at the base of the free-trade theory must remain always operative on a vast scale. It is in the interchange of products between the tropics and the temperate regions. If present indications are not entirely misleading, we are about to witness an international rivalry for the control of the trade of the tropics on a far vaster scale than any which has hitherto been imagined. It is remarkable that in the midst of other matters which hold the public mind, but the importance of which is trivial in comparison, the large issues which are involved under this head should have as yet occupied so little attention.

If we turn at the present time to the import lists of the world and regard them carefully, it will soon become apparent to what a large extent our civilization already draws its supplies from the tropics. Of recent years we have been largely occupied in discussing questions

affecting the conditions of our own industrial production. Yet it is curious to reflect to what a large extent our complex, highly organized modern life rests on the work and production of a region of the world to which our relations are either indefinite or entirely casual; a region which has, it must be remembered, hitherto produced no example of native government successful in the European sense, but towards which, nevertheless, no political party and no school of thought have so far set forth any scheme of policy, either consistent in itself or possessing the merit even of being generally accepted in principle. Looking at first down the British list of imports, and taking the articles of tropical produce as they come in alphabetical order, the first important staple which catches the eye is that of caoutchouc, or india-rubber. It is well known that in recent years several of the most important and expanding industries have been dependent on the regular supply of this material, the demand for which is likely to continue to increase. The imports in 1882 were valued at £2,700,000; in 1896 they were valued at some

£5,000,000. The next article is cocoa, of which the consumption is also increasing. The British imports in 1896 were 38,000,000 lb., valued at £1,053,962. Of coffee some 80,000,000 lb. were imported, valued at £3,558,746. On the next article, raw cotton, imported to the value of some £36,000,000, rests the staple British industry. It is to some extent also a tropical product. The main supply at the beginning of the century came from the East and West Indies. But the skill, energy, and invention which it has been possible to apply to its cultivation within the territory of the United States have, when added to other opportunities, caused a gradual but continual shrinkage to comparatively small proportions of the supply which now comes from the tropics. Of drugs and dyestuffs, mostly from tropical countries, the imports were valued at £5,300,000. Of gum, gutta-percha, and palm oils the imports were valued at some £3,400,000. Of jute imported the value was £4,167,992. Of sugar, of which, despite the artificial disturbance caused by the bonuses given by Continental Governments on the ex-

port of the beetroot product, the large proportion still comes from the tropics, the imports were valued at over £19,000,000. Of tea the imports were valued at £10,562,773, nearly nine-tenths of the total quantity imported coming from India and Ceylon. Of tobacco the total imports were valued at £4,352,031. These were the leading staples; but there is a long list of miscellaneous articles of tropical produce which only fall short of these in importance, amongst which may be mentioned teak, mahogany, and other woods, rice, paper-making materials, silk, hides, various minerals, and many foods, including fruit.

The impression which may thus be roughly obtained of the importance of the existing trade with the tropics may be readily supplemented by other methods of analysis. If we take the tropical and sub-tropical regions of the world as embraced in the belt of territory on each side of the equator within the parallels of 30° north and 30° south, we shall have a clearly defined zone. Outside of it will lie, in the northern hemisphere, practically the whole of the territory of the United States and of

Europe, and the greater part of Asia, including Japan. In the southern hemisphere we may take Cape Colony and Natal as excluded, the Argentine Republic and Chile, and the whole of the Australian colonies of Great Britain excepting Queensland. If we turn now to the list of British exports for the year 1896, it will be found that the total value reached, in round figures, a sum of £296,000,000. If we go through the list and endeavour to distinguish the exports to this tropical belt, estimating in some cases where it is not possible to obtain the exact figures (in the case of China taking 35 per cent of the whole as tropical), it will be found that they amount to a total which may be put roughly in the neighbourhood of £73,000,000, or about one-fourth of the whole. We may carry the analysis further with more striking results. We have heard from time to time recently a great deal of discussion concerning the trade of the United Kingdom with the British colonies and dependencies. The total of this trade (exports and imports) for the year 1896 amounted, if we include Egypt, to some

£197,000,000. It is somewhat startling, when we come to analyze the figures, to find that some £102,000,000 of it was trade between the United Kingdom and the British regions of this tropical belt. This is all the more remarkable, too, when it is remembered that for a long period in the past the indeterminate tone of home policy with regard to questions affecting the interests of settlements in various tropical parts has not been such as to encourage enterprise or the investment of capital in those regions. Throughout the greater part of the British tropics the conditions of free trade prevail. Throughout a considerable proportion of the remaining tropical regions imports of British produce are taxed; the whole British trade with the remaining tropical regions of the world amounting to only some £36,000,000.

If we consider now the trade of the United Kingdom at the end of the nineteenth century in relation to the historical movements mentioned at the outset, we may regard it as falling into three great divisions as follows:—

Trade of the United Kingdom in 1896 with the tropics	£138,000,000
With the English-speaking world (not in- cluding British tropics)	233,000,000
Total with the tropics and English- speaking world	£371,000,000
With the rest of the world	367,000,000
Gross total	£738,000,000

But it may be said that Great Britain is exceptionally situated as regards the currents of its trade and the nature of its imports and exports. If, however, we turn to the United States of America, it is only to find the same lesson more strongly emphasized. Looking down the import list for 1895 and taking the fifteen heads under which the largest values have been imported, we find that they include some two-thirds of the total imports of the United States. A glance at the principal commodities is sufficient to show to what an enormous extent the produce of the tropics is represented. Here the two items which stand at the top of the list are coffee and sugar, of which the imports were valued at respectively \$96,000,000 and \$76,000,000. The value of

the imports of these two articles alone does not fall very far short of one-fourth of the total value of the imports of the United States for the year in question. If we add to it the values under three other heads — viz., (1) india-rubber, (2) tobacco, and (3) tea, we have a total of some \$221,000,000. If we endeavour to deal with the whole import list on the principle followed in the case of Great Britain, and seek to distinguish what proportion of the total imports of the United States comes from the region embraced between latitude 30° north and 30° south of the equator, we get a total value of approximately \$250,000,000 from tropical regions. This is over one-third of the entire imports of the United States, the total for the year from all sources being \$731,000,000. In the case of the exports of the United States the currents of trade are somewhat different, some 47 per cent of the entire export trade being with the United Kingdom. But of the remainder the export trade to the tropics forms a large proportion, amounting in all to approximately \$96,000,000.

Adding together, therefore, the exports and

imports of the United States, we have a remarkable analysis of the entire trade of the country as follows:—

Trade of the United States in 1895 with the	
tropics	\$346,000,000
With the English-speaking world (not including British tropics)	657,000,000
<hr/>	
Total with the tropics and English-speaking world	\$1,003,000,000
With the rest of the world	535,000,000
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Gross total	\$1,538,000,000

As regards Great Britain and the United States together, we may now present the sum of the whole matter in a striking light. The writer, with the sources of information at his disposal, in order to obtain a closer analysis, has had to deal with the figures for 1895 in the case of the United States, while for the United Kingdom the figures taken have been for 1896. Allowing for possible variation between the years in question, we get the following results in English currency if we add the figures for the two countries together:—

United Kingdom trade with the tropics . . .	£138,000,000
United States trade with the tropics . . .	70,000,000
Total	£208,000,000
Combined trade of United Kingdom and United States with the remainder of the world outside English-speaking lands . . .	473,000,000

If we thus get rid of the obscuring factor of the large trade which the English-speaking world transacts within its own borders, the enormous interest which the two leading sections of it have in the tropics becomes apparent. Their combined trade with the tropics actually amounts to approximately some 44 per cent of their total trade with all the rest of the world. However rough and imperfect the idea that may be obtained from these figures of the nature of our existing relation to the tropics, it is at least sufficient to impress us with a very real sense of its importance. In the immense regions concerned there are embraced some of the richest territories on the earth's surface. But they are territories as yet, for the greater part, practically undeveloped. Yet it must be remembered that it is in an interchange of commodities between these regions and those

at present occupied by the European peoples that it is possible to have permanently, operative, on the largest scale upon which it could be made operative in the world, the great natural principle underlying all trade, i.e., that the interchange of products between peoples and regions possessing different natural capacities tends to be mutually advantageous. No serious attempt, at least no attempt of the kind which the importance of the subject appears to deserve, has so far been made to set forth the principles which should underlie our future relations with the tropical regions of the world. Over a considerable proportion of these regions at present we have existing a state either of anarchy, or of primitive savagery, pure and simple, in which no attempt is made or can be made to develop the natural resources lying ready to hand. Over a portion of the remainder European Powers hold control. In some of these cases this control is maintained on principles beyond the exercise of which the advanced peoples have certainly moved, and upon the practice of which no scheme of

policy towards these regions could ever again be successfully submitted for public approval amongst ourselves. In England, at the present time, the feeling is probably instinctive that our relations with the tropics are likely to be extended rather than restricted in the near future. But, although we appear to be dimly conscious that we are living in a period of new and higher standards of national duty in such relations, although we even at times appear to catch sight of the high and important responsibility which the conscientious discharge of a national duty in these relations may involve in the period upon which we are entering, nowhere is there to be found any whole-hearted and consistent attempt either to justify the political relations which already exist, or to define the principles of any relations which ought to exist in the future.

II

THE two leading facts, which it has been the endeavour, so far, to present in a clear light, are therefore: First, that the complex life of the modern world rests upon the production of the tropics to an extent which is scarcely realized by the average mind; and, second, that the trade of the United Kingdom and the United States with the tropics is already a very large proportion of the total commerce of both countries. We have seen that, taking the trade of the United Kingdom with all the British colonies and dependencies, the trade with the British tropics considerably exceeds that with all the non-tropical colonies and dependencies of Great Britain, including, it must be remembered, the great self-governing territories of Canada, the Cape, Natal, New Zealand, and all the Australian colonies with the exception of Queensland. Taking the English-speaking

world as a whole, and excluding from consideration all trade within its own borders, we found that its trade with the tropics amounted in such circumstances to some 38 per cent of its total trade with all the rest of the world. In the same circumstances, we found that the trade of the United States with the tropics actually amounted to 65 per cent of its total trade with the remainder of the world; the combined trade of the two countries with the tropics, averaging, in this case, some 44 per cent of their total trade with all the rest of the world outside English-speaking lands. The importance of these facts will be evident. But they would have a far deeper significance than any which appears at the surface.

During the nineteenth century a large part of the energies of the Western peoples have been absorbed in the development of vast territories in the temperate regions recently added to our civilization. It is obvious that neither the conditions of commerce nor of industry under which this development has hitherto proceeded can be expected to continue. In all probability we are destined to

witness in the near future the extension over a large part of these regions of conditions of population tending to gradually approach European standards. From all present indications these conditions of populations are likely to be accompanied, both in Europe and in the countries themselves, by a further development of industrialism, a largely increased capacity for output, and a tendency to keener competition with diminishing profits. There can be little doubt that in these circumstances the more advanced peoples, driven to seek new outlooks for their activities, will be subject to a gradually increasing pressure to turn their attention to the great natural field of enterprise which still remains in the development of the tropics. Let us see, therefore, what are the present principles which govern our relationships to these regions of the earth.

If we regard the tropics at the present day, we have in view what is surely one of the most extraordinary spectacles which the world presents in the closing years of the nineteenth century. Looking round at these regions of the world, it may be perceived, after a little

reflection, that the existing relations of all civilized nations thereto may be resolved into three types. In each of these there may be distinguished to be a fundamental conception or ruling idea underlying the prevailing relationship and governing the general scheme of policy which arises out of it. Yet of every one of these conceptions it must be said that it represents an anachronism. If existing indications of the direction in which the forces at present at work are carrying us are not absolutely misleading, it appears impossible to resist the conviction that upon none of them is it possible to base any policy of our future relations towards the tropical regions of the earth, likely in time to come to receive the support of public opinion. Let us consider each briefly.

Of the first type of relationship existing between a civilized Power and a tropical possession we may take as examples the Dutch territories in the East and the Spanish possessions in the East and West Indies. The general idea underlying the relationship here is very simple; it is practically the same as

that which prevailed regarding British settlements in tropical countries in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The tropical territory is regarded simply as an estate — a “Plantation” or a “Possession” — to be worked for the largest profit it will bring in, mainly irrespective of other considerations. This system found the natural conditions suitable to it under the institution of slavery; and at the period of its highest development, its successful working largely depended on this relationship of capital to labour. With the abolition of slavery, it has undergone many modifications. At the present day, one of the most successful examples of its working under modern conditions is to be found in the Dutch East Indies. In Java of the present day, for instance, the greater part of the land is claimed by Government, and has been largely worked under what is known as the “culture system” instituted in 1832. Many of the details of this system have been recently modified, but in outline the system as a whole survives. A leading feature of it has been forced native labour

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employed in the raising for Government of produce to be sold in the Netherlands and in the colonial markets. At the present time, the labour of the natives appears to be required only in the production of coffee, of which a great quantity is produced, to be sold in the Netherlands. It is a curious feature of our time to find, for example, in the Budget of 1898 the following estimated sales of Government produce (the value being set forth in guilders): To be sold in the Netherlands—coffee, 21,600,000; cinchona, 122,000; tin, 6,700,000: to be sold in India—opium, 17,200,000; coffee, 8,200,000. There is one fact which immediately compels attention here, though the significance of it is little understood at the present day. The large dimension of the trade of those tropical regions in which the plantation system has been consistently worked is very remarkable. For instance, the trade of the Dutch East Indies in 1895 reached the total of some \$160,000,000. In like manner the trade of Cuba, notwithstanding all drawbacks, must, down to a few years ago, be considered to have been rela-

tively enormous; it has probably exceeded that of any other tropical area of its size in the world. Even the trade of the Philippines is comparatively large, being estimated to have been about \$31,500,000 in 1896. It is also a remarkable fact in this connection, even allowing for all explanations which lie ready to hand, that the British trade with the West Indies, British Honduras, and British Guiana reached in 1815 the very large total (especially when the volume of trade at the time is considered) of \$78,500,000. As against this it had shrunk in 1896 to \$29,500,000.

Under all varying outward forms, the two essential characteristics of this first type of relationship between a civilized Power and a tropical dependency which may be distinguished are (1) the placing in the foreground as a prime consideration that the occupying territory is to be worked like an estate in the interests of the country whose "Possession" it is supposed to be, and (2) the complete subordination of the native interests to those of the occupying Power. However this type

of relationship may be modified, the fact must be clearly recognized that the main idea underlying it is incompatible both with the spirit and the forms of modern civilization. No body of opinion could be expected nowadays to permanently support either in England or in the United States any scheme of political policy towards tropical dependencies admittedly founded on such a principle. But we appear, nevertheless, to be confronted with the fact that given the conditions which allowed of capital being invested and of labour being applied to tropical regions, even under this system there are unmistakable proofs of a large production and of a large resulting volume of trade.

If we turn now to the second type of relationship, we have in the conception upon which it is based the ruling idea that has been behind the policy of vigorous expansion in tropical lands initiated by several of the Continental Powers of Europe in recent years. To understand the nature of the extraordinary misconception, as it presents itself to the writer, which lies at the root of this

policy, we must look principally to France. The moving cause underlying the consistency and persistency with which France has devoted herself for a considerable time in the past to extending her sway over vast territories in the tropics is little understood in England. Where the history of that development has excited interest in England, it has generally been followed with a kind of puzzled surprise. For why should France, it is asked,—a country which has of necessity given up the rivalry for colonies in the true sense in temperate regions,—devote herself to this policy of adventure in distant territories in the tropics? To get the answer to this question, we must step for a moment outside the more superficial currents of public life and public opinion at the present time.

During the greater part of the nineteenth century, the Continental Powers of Western Europe have in reality given little attention to questions outside of their own immediate environment. Occupied within the narrow horizon of their own immediate political and social affairs, they have taken no view of the

wider importance of the future towards which the world, mainly under the influences of the expansive forces at work amongst the English-speaking peoples, has been travelling. Towards the end of the century, however, these powers have become vaguely conscious of the transformation which, in the meantime, has been in progress in the world outside of Europe. Many of the more thinking minds on the Continent of Europe have already a very clear conception of the significance of this transformation, and of its bearing on the future. It is probably true, however strange it may appear to say so, that, at the present day, the far-reaching effects of the part which the English-speaking peoples are probably destined to play in the future, are not so much thought of, or even so clearly perceived, either in England or in America, as they are by some of the more far-seeing minds in France and Germany. It is to this cause that we may trace a very pronounced tendency of which the effects have been very distinctly felt in England of late years. More than one of these thinkers, perceiving the vast future consequences of that

expansion of the English-speaking peoples, towards which the entire drift of policy and events amongst these peoples for the last 200 years has tended, has become convinced also that it is necessary that his own nation should embark, before it is too late, in a policy of expansion. More clearly than either in England or in America, is it perceived that, as the result of existing developments, the world outside of Europe tends in the future to be controlled in the main by only two sets of forces, those which proceed from the peoples who speak English, and those which proceed from the peoples who speak Russian. The temperate regions, it is seen, have already been occupied. But there remain the tropics.

For a considerable period in the past, the tendency in England has been to treat this new disposition of the Continental Powers of Europe as one to which no serious attention need be paid. But there is a fixed idea and a very clear determination underlying it all. The group of politicians, with Jules Ferry at their head, who embarked in the French policy of expansion in Tongking, had, apart

from all questions of mere expediency, a very definite idea as to the future value to France of the territories upon which such an unpopular expenditure of lives and treasure took place. It would come as a surprise, also, to many in England, to find from what serious minds the advocacy of the present French policy of expansion in Africa proceeds. There are, for instance, few French writers better acquainted with the deeper needs of modern France, and none whose opinion is received with more respect outside of France, than the political economist, M. Paul Leroy Beaulieu. Looking round at the world, this writer foresees that, at the commencement of the twentieth century, France will have on one side of her 120 millions of Russians about to expand into the temperate regions of Siberia, and on the other side of her 120 millions of the English-speaking peoples about to expand into a vast inheritance in the temperate regions elsewhere in the world. "Therefore," he says, "colonization is for France a question of life and death,—either *France must become a great African Power*, or she will be in a century or two but a secondary

European Power: she will count in the world scarcely more than Greece or Rumania counts in Europe."

In this sentence, and in particular in the words which have here been placed in italics, we have the key to the infatuation which has possessed the minds of the Continental Powers of Western Europe at the close of the nineteenth century. The writer has spoken of the extraordinary misconception which underlies it. It is the idea that the history of England, which in the past has put forth vigorous reproductions of herself in the white man's lands of the world, can be reproduced in the twentieth century in tropical Africa and similar regions of the earth. II. In the countries which have followed the lead of France we may distinguish everywhere the same idea under different forms. In the German Press, M. Paul Leroy Beaulieu's idea may be seen reproduced daily in perfect good faith by writers on behalf of their own country, where the phrase "Greater Germany," in imitation of Greater Britain, is continually applied to so-called colonies where there are no colo-

nists, where Germany is represented only by officials, and where there will never be any white colonists in the true sense. In France, in connection with this subject, a literature in itself has gradually arisen dealing with the acclimatization of the white man in the tropics. Yet, any one who endeavours to follow it for himself, and who has been able to approach it with an open mind, will probably find himself possessed, sooner or later, of an overmastering conviction of the innate unnaturalness of the whole idea of acclimatization in the tropics, and of every attempt arising out of it to reverse by any effort within human range the long, slow process of evolution which has produced such a profound dividing line between the inhabitants of the tropics and those of the temperate regions. To scarcely any of the facts commonly adduced in favour of the idea will it be found possible to attach any real weight on analysis. The unusual triviality of the facts on the one side, and the apparently massive and overwhelming character of the evidence on the other, will probably bring

most unbiassed minds to feel that it is a matter upon which in the end there can hardly be room for any real or important difference of opinion.

But the serious aspect of this matter remains. During the last two decades of the nineteenth century nearly five millions of square miles of the tropical regions of the world, or an area considerably greater than that of the whole of Europe, has been brought under the control of Continental Powers of Europe under this conception of "colonial" expansion. These regions continue to wait for the white colonists who will never come. But, in the meantime, the ruling instinct of the occupying Power seems everywhere to be simply to fall back on the old idea of the Factory or of the Plantation—the estate to be worked for the profit of those who have taken possession. It is one of the gloomiest spectacles at the end of the nineteenth century, this railing off of immense regions in the tropics under the policy which has suggested their acquirement, regions tending, in the absence of white colonists, to simply re-

vert to the type of States worked for gain, and slowly but surely surrounding themselves with a wall of laws and tariffs operating in favour of the European Power in possession, to the exclusion of the interests of the rest of the world.

We come now at last to the third standard of relationship between civilization and the tropics. It is that which prevails throughout practically the whole English-speaking world, using this term deliberately as including the United States. For, although the rule of the United States has not hitherto extended into the tropics, it is the prevalence of certain standards of opinion in that country, equally with England, which is mainly responsible for what will probably be regarded in the future as one of the most extraordinary political situations which the world has ever seen. We can best understand the position if we look first to England. In the British Colonial Department at the present day we have presented a spectacle of which we have, in reality, the key to the idea underlying the extraordinary position to which reference has

just been made. If we inquire what the colonies are with which the British Colonial Office is concerned, we shall have presented to view a curious list. At the head of it come the great self-governing States like Canada, Victoria, New South Wales, South Australia, the Cape, Natal, New Zealand, and others, all colonies in the true sense of the word, offshoots of England in temperate regions of the world, many of them engaged in the practical solution of some of the most advanced political and social problems which occupy the attention of the modern world. If we look further down the list, we have a strange medley. Vast territories in tropical lands, acquired at various dates in the course of war and trade; countries inhabited by different races and governed under a variety of constitutions; regions representing every type of administrative problem—questions of war, of defence, of finance, which raise the whole modern policy of the Empire, questions of responsibility to weaker races, of the relations of the governing power to great systems of native jurisprudence and religion, which take

us back to the very childhood of the world, and in which the first principle of successful policy is that we are dealing, as it were, with children, are all grouped together as "colonies," in common with those modern self-governing States, the reproductions of England in temperate regions.

At first sight it is as if in England we had here simply reached the position of the Continental Powers of Europe, in that we have, in theory, a tropical dependency treated as a colony. Nothing of the kind, however. In England we have got far beyond this—into a position only one degree less absurd, but greatly more potent for evil, because of the immense scale upon which its effects have begun to influence the world. The prevailing idea of a colony among the Continental Powers of Europe (that which even List aided in popularizing in Germany) is the one which has been abandoned for a century throughout the English-speaking world—the idea that it is an estate to be worked for the exclusive profit of the Power whose possession it is. The prevailing idea of a colony in England is that which governs

the relations of England to Canada and Australia, where England is dealing practically with equals in these great modern States, in which all the forces resident in our civilization are operative. But it is the underlying conception in the mind of the whole English-speaking world, notwithstanding all facts to the contrary, that settlements of European Powers *in the tropics* are "colonies" in this latter sense, which is responsible for the development of one of the most remarkable situations in history. After the abolition by Great Britain of slavery in the tropics, and the frank abandonment thenceforward of the factory and plantation systems, the idea became general in England that the British tropics were to be gradually left to themselves, after the model of the British colonies in temperate regions. III. They were already seen, in imagination, with all the expansive forces of Western civilization in full swing therein, developing their own resources under native auspices as if they had been parts of the world like the United States or Australia! They were, in short, expected to develop into modern States. Throughout

the middle decades of the nineteenth century this idea was in the ascendant in the minds of a large advanced party in England. The West Indian settlements were to be allowed, if they chose, to become independent; their resources, it was held, would be exploited under native direction; they would develop into modern States. In India, and elsewhere, the same idea prevailed, in modified form. Down to the present day in India, as in Egypt, some of the most uphill, the most difficult, the most discouraging, and yet, on the whole, the most successful work which has ever been done in the name of civilization has been performed, and is still being performed, only under the fiction that the Power which represents civilization is in occupation only temporarily.

If any one should think all this to be mere Pharisaism, he would have little insight into the working of the British mind during the nineteenth century. Let him look at the list of British possessions in tropical countries, and he will see that from the close of the Napoleonic wars, down practically to the date of the modern scramble for Africa, the acquisitions

of England in tropical regions had practically ceased. When at length England, driven by that deep instinct which leads a people in a crisis to feel beyond the present into the future, joined — the last European Power to do so — in the modern rush for territory in tropical Africa, the idea which had held the mind of the English-speaking world for a century, that idea under which we had waited for the British tropics to become modern States, and under which we had, in the meantime, seen the trade of the British West Indies and Guiana dwindle from £15,000,000 to £6,000,000, reached an extraordinary culmination in England. The feeling had at last become instinctive that the conception which had applied to the government of the tropics the ideas and standards of our Western democracies was a mistake. But there had as yet arisen in England no party and no school of thought which had provided any formula by which the expansion, and even the encroachment of the Continental Powers of Europe in Africa, and elsewhere in the tropics, could be consistently met by Great Britain. We had, therefore, to witness the

strange spectacle of the revival in England, at the end of the nineteenth century, of the oldest, the most indefensible, and in theory the most reprehensible of all forms of government in the tropics — government by chartered company. It was as if successive Governments in England had shirked the national responsibility — as if they had said: "We admit the error of the old idea about the tropics, but we do not know where we are. Let any authority undertake the work. Only take the responsibility off our hands." This was the extraordinary spectacle presented in England in the closing years of the nineteenth century.

But it is when we carry our view now to the western hemisphere that we have this same conception producing its results on the largest scale. During the century in which we are living immense tropical regions in South and Central America have become independent of the influences of Spain and Portugal. One of the principal causes behind the events which have brought about the existing political conditions in these regions has undoubtedly been the character of ideas

prevailing in the English-speaking world and the influence and moral support in consequence of both the United States and Great Britain. Throughout the whole series of these events one ruling conception has occupied the public mind (in both countries) namely, that these tropical regions, given the control of their own destinies, would forthwith begin to exploit their resources and develop into modern States. Yet if we look at the result to-day, it is hard to draw a picture which will do any justice to a condition of things so altogether deplorable. If we take first the case of Brazil, one of the best examples among these States, we have presented to view a gloomy spectacle. We have in this country a territory considerably larger than the United States; the region most richly endowed by nature on the face of the globe—a region possessing capacities of production probably beyond any that have yet been imagined. At the present time it is said to support a population of some 15,000,000 inhabitants, of whom only a relatively small minority are of European descent, these being concentrated

principally in the seaport towns. The immense territories in the background are largely unexplored, almost out of the reach of civilization, inhabited mostly by native Indians, imported negroes, and mixed breeds. During a considerable part of the nineteenth century there has been witnessed in progress in that country one of the most unnatural and unfortunate experiments of our time in nearly all its surroundings—the endeavour to people Brazil with immigrants of European race. Numbers of German, Austrian, Italian, Swiss, Irish, and other immigrants, necessarily drawn from the poorest and most helpless classes, have been induced to leave their homes to settle in a tropical land, amongst the strangest and most unhealthy physical and moral conditions, as if it had been simply a region like the United States. If we extend our view to include the Spanish Republics of northern South America, and of Central America, we have altogether a remarkable spectacle. Of the government of these territories, when we strip off the veneer of outward forms under which it is carried on, it can only be said that it is, as

must be every government of a tropical country in such circumstances, simply and frankly the government of a large native population by a permanent European caste, cut off from the influence of the political and ethical conditions from which the European has sprung. Disorder and bankruptcy seem to hang continually over the affairs of public finance. All large public undertakings appear to tend in the same direction, with irresponsible foreign corporations and foreign syndicates standing behind the seats of public authority and tending to the control of public affairs. A blight seems to hang over the whole region. There are only two words which adequately represent the condition of the immense territories included — anarchy and bankruptcy. In a recent issue of the *Forum* Professor Moore printed a dreary list of political events in the Central American Republics for the last quarter of a century. Insurrection, revolution, outrage, and the incidents of military Dictatorships appear therefrom to constitute the normal events of history; the author of the list might have greatly extended it, and brought

out the full significance of the phenomenon he was regarding if he had embraced in his review the history of all the neighbouring tropical Republics of northern South America. Another writer, describing about the same time the social and political life of the Central American Republics, gives his facts with unusual force and bluntness. To this writer (Mr. Richard Harding Davis in *Harper's Magazine*) the outward forms are mere hollow pretence: "the Republics of Central America are Republics in name only." Their real condition is that of "disorganized military camps called free Republics," where government has neither continuity nor prestige, and where the only representatives of the ethics of civilization are the foreign trading firms. To the native:—

"His country, no matter what her name may be, is ruled by a firm of coffee-merchants in New York city, or by a German railroad company, or by a line of coasting steamers, or by a great trading house, with headquarters in Berlin, or London, or Bordeaux. . . . When we were in Nicaragua one little English bank-

ing house was fighting the Minister of Finance and the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the President and the entire Government, and while the notes issued by the bank were accepted at their face value, those of the Government were taken only in the presence of a policeman or a soldier, who was there to see that you did take them. You find this condition of affairs all through Central America, and you are not long in a Republic before you learn which merchant or which bank or which railroad company controls it, and you soon grow to look upon a mule loaded with boxes bearing the trademark of a certain business house with more respect than upon a soldier who wears the linen ribbon of the Government. For you know that at a word the soldier will tear the ribbon from his straw sombrero, and replace it with another upon which is printed 'Viva Dr. Somebody Else.'"

Because these regions have taken to themselves the outward forms of civilized States, and in particular those of Republican government, the deeper truth that Democracy is not simply a form of government but a stage of

human evolution] seems with regard to them to have been lost sight of for half a century throughout the whole English-speaking world.

In the meantime the resources which their inhabitants have in charge remain undeveloped, and practically beyond the reach of civilization. Says the writer already quoted:—

“ Away from the coasts, where there is fever, Central America is a wonderful country, rich and beautiful, and burdened with plenty, but its people make it a nuisance and an affront to other nations. . . . The Central Americans are like a lot of semi-barbarians in a beautifully furnished house, of which they can understand neither its possibilities of comfort nor its use. . . . Nature has given to their country great pasture lands, wonderful forests of rare woods and fruits, treasures of silver and gold, and iron, and soil rich enough to supply the world with coffee, and it only wants an honest effort to make it the natural highway of traffic from every portion of the globe. . . . Nature has done so much that there is little left for man to do, but it will have to be some other man than a native-born Central American who is to do it.”

The problem, which the writer of the passages here quoted is struggling with, is that which confronts the United States in the period upon which we are entering. It is that which already confronts under a hundred forms in various parts of the world every thinking administrator of Great Britain whose duty lies within the tropics. The first step towards any successful solution of it is to look it fairly in the face and frankly recognize its nature. It is not a question of the relative merits of any form of government; it is not even a question of the relative merits of any race amongst civilized peoples; it is simply and purely the question of the ultimate relation of the white man to the tropics. This is the question to the solution of which the English-speaking world must, by force of circumstances, address itself in the time which is upon us. Let us see how far we have got in evolving the answer to such a problem from the teaching of past and current events.

III

WE have to recognize at the outset, as a first principle of the situation, the utter futility of any policy based on the conception that it will be possible in the future to hold our hands and stand aloof from the tropics. There can be no choice in this matter. With the filling up of the temperate regions and the continued development of industrialism throughout the civilized world the rivalry and struggle for the trade of the tropics will, beyond doubt, be the permanent underlying fact in the foreign relations of the Western nations in the twentieth century. This anticipation must be based, in the first place, on the fact of the enormous extent to which our civilization already rests on the productions of the tropics, and, in the second place, on the fact that the principle, underlying all trade — that exchange of products between regions and peoples of different

capacities tends to be mutually profitable— finds in commerce between ourselves and these regions its most natural expression. So deeply fixed in the minds of most civilized peoples is this instinct of the future importance of the tropics that, as we have seen, a large part of the attention of our time is already occupied with questions and events arising out of the relations between our civilization and these regions. It has driven the British people to reverse, even under the surprising circumstances to which reference has been made, a policy which has been in the ascendant in the English mind for three generations. It is not even to be expected that existing nations will, in the future, continue to acknowledge any rights in the tropics which are not based both on the intention and the ability to develop these regions. It is a remarkable fact, significant as indicating the current drift of opinion on the subject, that in a recent article from the pen of Baron von Lüttwitz, of which a translation was printed in England in the *Journal* of the Royal United Service Institution, the writer frankly mentions

the prevailing conditions in China and the unstable condition in many South American States as offering opportunities for German expansion in these regions. If the English-speaking world is to face the duty which lies before it in the period upon which we have entered, if it is to raise the rivalry for the control of the tropics above the sordid level at which it has hitherto been carried on, it must be able to meet the subsequent verdict of history with a higher sense of responsibility and a clearer faith in the deep importance of the ideas and forces of which it is the representative, than is to be distinguished in its relations to the tropics either in the past or in the present. It would seem that any future policy of our relations to the tropics, to be permanently successful, must be based on the frank recognition of the following facts:—

1. In the first place, the attempt to acclimatize the white man in the tropics must be recognized to be a blunder of the first magnitude. All experiments based upon the idea are mere idle and empty enterprises foredoomed to failure. Excepting only the deportation of the

each man has his own "gifts" — rationales

African races under the institution of slavery, probably no other idea which has held the mind of our civilization during the last 300 years has led to so much physical and moral suffering and degradation, or has strewn the world with the wrecks of so many gigantic enterprises. In the second place, the question of exploiting any tropical region by regarding it primarily as an estate to be worked for gain must be abandoned. 2. The endeavour of the Continental nations of Europe to base the relationship of the occupying Power to such territories and their inhabitants on the principle of profit, surrounding the regions with laws and tariffs operating in the exclusive interest of the Power in possession, must be regarded as merely a return in modified form to the old Plantation system. Such a system is incompatible with the underlying spirit which is governing the development of the English-speaking peoples themselves, and it could, therefore, never have behind it that larger ethical conception which alone could obtain for it any measure of support as a permanent policy among these people. There will proba-

bly be no large measure of dissent from either of those propositions in England, where they have already practically passed into the realm of established truths. Yet, if we are able to give assent to them, it would seem that there must come the conviction that we must also go further. If the white man cannot be permanently acclimatized in the tropics, even where for the time being he has become relatively numerous, under the effects of evil conditions of the past, the government of all such regions must, if the ideas and standards which have prevailed in the past be allowed to continue, tend ultimately in one direction. It must tend to become the government of a large native population by a permanently resident European caste cut off from the moral, ethical, political, and physical conditions, which have produced the European. This is the real problem in many States in the tropical parts of central and northern South America. We cannot look for good government under such conditions; we have no right to expect it. In climatic conditions which are a burden to him; in the midst of races in a different and lower stage of development;

divorced from the influences which have produced him, from the moral and political environment from which he sprang, the white man does not in the end, in such circumstances, tend so much to raise the level of the races amongst whom he has made his unnatural home, as he tends himself to sink slowly to the level around him.

*Elitist**Horror!*

The next principle, which it seems must be no less clearly recognized, is one which carries us a great stride forward from the past as soon as we begin to perceive the nature of the consequences which follow from its admission. It is that, nevertheless, there never has been, and there never will be, within any time with which we are practically concerned, such a thing as good government, in the European sense, of the tropics by the natives of these regions. The ultimate fact underlying all the relations of the white man to the tropics is one which really goes to the root of the whole question of the evolution which the race itself has undergone. The human race reached its earliest development where the conditions of life were easiest; namely, in the tropics. But

throughout the whole period of human history, the development of the race has taken place outwards from the tropics. Slowly but surely we see the seat of empire and authority moving like the advancing tide northward. The evolution in character which the race has undergone has been northwards from the tropics. The first step to the solution of the problem before us is simply to acquire the principle that in dealing with the *natural* inhabitants of the tropics we are dealing with peoples who represent the same stage in the history of the development of the race that the child does in the history of the development of the individual. The tropics will not, therefore, be developed by the natives themselves. However we may be inclined to hesitate before reaching this view, it is hard to see how assent to it can be withheld in the face of the consistent verdict of history in the past, and the unvarying support given to it by facts in the present. If there is any one inclined to challenge it, let him reflect for a moment on the evidence on the one side and the difficulty that will present itself to him of producing any serious facts on the other

side. If we look to the native social systems of the tropical East, to the primitive savagery of Central Africa, to the West Indian Islands in the past in process of being assisted into the position of modern States by Great Britain, to the Black Republic Hayti in the present, or to modern Liberia in the future, the lesson seems everywhere the same; it is that there will be no development of the resources of the tropics under native government.

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We come, therefore, to a clearly defined position. If we have to meet the fact that by force of circumstances the tropics must be developed, and if the evidence is equally emphatic that such a development can only take place under the influence of the white man, we are confronted with a larger issue than any mere question of commercial policy or of national selfishness. The tropics in such circumstances can only be governed as a trust for civilization, and with a full sense of the responsibility which such a trust involves. The first principle of success in undertaking such a duty seems to the writer to be a clear recognition of the cardinal fact

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*missions German colonization and (2) a crusade
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that in the tropics the white man lives and works only as a diver lives and works under water. Alike in a moral, in an ethical, and in a political sense, the atmosphere he breathes must be that of another region, that which produced him, and to which he belongs. Neither physically, morally, nor politically, can he be acclimatized in the tropics. The people among whom he lives and works are often separated from him by thousands of years of development; he cannot, therefore, be allowed to administer government from any local and lower standard he may develop. If he has any right there at all, he is there in the name of civilization; if our civilization has any right there at all, it is because it represents higher ideals of humanity, a higher type of social order. This is the lesson which, slowly and painfully, and with many a temporary reversion to older ideas, the British peoples have been learning in India for the last fifty years, and which has recently been applied in other circumstances to the government of Egypt. Under a multitude of outward aspects, the one principle which separates the new era

from the old in India, a principle the influence of which has come to extend even to the habits and dress of the governing class, is the recognition of the fact that the standards according to which India must be governed have been developed and are nourished elsewhere. The one consistent idea which, through all outward forms, has in late years been behind the institution of the higher Indian Civil Service on existing lines is that, even where it is equally open to natives with Europeans through competitive examination, entrance to it shall be made through an English University. In other words, it is the best and most distinctive product which England can give, the higher ideals and standards of her Universities, which is made to feed the inner life from which the British administration of India proceeds. It is but the application of the same principle which we have in the recognition of the fact that no violent hands must be laid on native institutions, or native rights, or native systems of religion, or even on native independence, so far as respect for existing forms is compatible with the efficient adminis-

tration of the government. It is but another form of the recognition of the fact that we are in the midst of habits and institutions from which our civilization is separated by a long interval of development, where progress upwards must be a long, slow process, must proceed on native lines, and must be the effect of the example and prestige of higher standards rather than the result of ruder methods. It is on a like principle that the development of the tropical region occupied must be held to be the fulfilment of a trust undertaken in the name of civilization, a duty which allows the occupying country to surround her own position therein with no laws or tariffs operating in her own interests, and which allows her to retain to herself no exclusive advantage in the markets which she has assisted in creating. In the case of regions whose inhabitants have made little progress towards the development of any social organization of their own, the government for the time being must be prepared for duties and responsibilities of a different kind to those undertaken amongst ourselves; for not even under the protection

of a civilized government can it be expected that in such cases the natives will develop the resources they have in charge under the principles of our Western individualism. But in this, as in all other matters, the one underlying principle of success in any future relationship to the tropics is to keep those who administer the government which represents our civilization in direct and intimate contact with the standards of that civilization at its best; and to keep the acts of the government itself within the closest range of that influence, often irksome, sometimes even misleading, but always absolutely vital, — the continual scrutiny of the public mind at home.

No deeper, no more enduring responsibility has ever been laid upon the peoples of the whole English-speaking world, than that which presents itself in the situation with which they are confronted, at the end of the nineteenth century, in this matter of our future relations to the tropics. To the writer there seems to be no room here for small-minded comparisons between the different merits of civilized races and peoples. The subject goes far deeper

than this. There are in reality only two policies before the world. On the one side there is that pursued by the Continental Powers of Western Europe. Reduced to its simplest terms it represents the conception of the relationship to be adopted to territories beyond sea which prevailed throughout Europe more than a hundred years ago and before the secession of the United States. On the other side there is the policy, slowly and painfully learnt after a century of larger experience — the policy which the standards of the English-speaking peoples now represent and of which the logical outcome is the holding of the tropics as a trust for civilization. Every square mile of tropical territory which has been occupied within the last few decades under the first policy rather than under the second has been in part lost to us as a trust to civilization, it has passed definitely backward into the shadow of another century. What it is necessary to remember is that it is idle and useless to trust to any declaration of intentions, however honestly meant, on the acquisition of such territory. Policies in such

circumstances grow out of the life of a people and are not permanently regulated by existing intentions. The Congo State was declared neutral and free to the trade of all nations in 1885. It is no longer either neutral or free to trade as at the date of the Declaration; Belgium has acquired the right of annexation and France of preëmption. France undertook the administration of Algeria with many understandings which were doubtless honestly meant at the time but which no longer exist. In 1893 she had obtained the consent of the Powers to confine even the carrying trade between herself and Algeria to French vessels, all foreign Powers, including Great Britain, having given up their right to participate in it. In Madagascar, her latest acquisition, the present trend of policy appears to be in the same direction. A policy in such relations is a matter beyond the control even of governments; it is ultimately regulated only by the development of a people, by standards which are the slow growth of time. If the English-speaking peoples do not mean to shirk the grave responsibility which lies upon them in

this matter, they must act at once, with clear purpose and with courage. Neither the purpose nor the courage should be wanting to those who possess a conviction of the far-reaching importance in the future of the ideas and principles for which these peoples now stand in the world.

vague, to say the least

APPENDIX

THE PRINCIPLES OF THE RELATIONS OF OUR CIVILIZATION TO THE TROPICS

**(Reprinted from Chapter X of the author's
SOCIAL EVOLUTION)**

APPENDIX

IN any forecast of the future of our civilization, one of the most important of the questions presenting themselves for consideration is that of the future relationship of the European peoples to what are called the lower races. Probably one of the most remarkable features of the world-wide expansion the European peoples are undergoing will be the change that this relationship is destined to undergo in the near future. In estimates which have been hitherto made of our coming relations to the coloured races, a factor which will in all probability completely dominate the situation in the future has received scarcely any attention.

The relationships of the Western peoples to the inferior races, with which they have come into contact in the course of the expansion they have undergone, is one of the most interesting subjects in history. Confused though these

relationships may appear, it may be distinguished that they have passed through certain well-marked stages of development. We must set aside, as being outside our present field of vision, those races which have inhabited countries suitable for European colonization. The fate of all races occupying territories of this kind has been identical. Whether wars of extermination have been waged against them, or whether they have been well treated and admitted to citizenship, they have always tended to disappear before the more vigorous incoming race. It is with the inhabitants of regions unsuitable for European settlement, and mostly outside the temperate zone, that we are concerned.

The alteration observable in our relations to these races since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has been very gradual, but its general character is unmistakable. During the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, a great part of the richest regions in the tropical countries of the earth passed under the dominion of the four great sea powers of Western Europe — Spain, Holland, France, and Eng-

land have successively engaged in the keenest rivalry for the possession of vast regions of this kind, unsuitable for permanent colonization, but possessing rich natural resources. The general idea which lay behind this extension of dominion was in the main that of military conquest. The territories of the weaker peoples were invaded, taken possession of, and exploited for the benefit of the more vigorous invader. The interests of the original occupiers were little, if at all, regarded. The main end in view was the immediate profit and advantage of the conquerors. In the West India Islands the native population was worked in the mines and the plantations until it became in great part extinct, and the Spaniards began to introduce negroes from Africa. Operations were conducted on so great a scale that in the 20 years before the opening of the eighteenth century 300,000 slaves were exported from Africa by the English, and in the 80 years which followed, over 600,000 slaves were landed in the Island of Jamaica alone. Slave labour was employed to an enormous extent in most of the countries of which possession was obtained.

The natural resources of the territories occupied were, however, developed to a considerable degree. The enormous wealth which Spain drew from her conquests and undertakings in tropical America was long a very powerful factor in the wars and politics of Europe: Holland, France, and England also enriched themselves both directly and indirectly. In the Spanish, Dutch, and English settlements and plantations in the eastern hemisphere, and in those in the West Indies and South America, under Spanish, Dutch, French, and English rule, great enterprises in trade, agriculture, and mining were successfully undertaken. Order and government were introduced, and large cities sprung up rivalling European cities in size and magnificence. This first period was one of feverish activity, and of universal desire on the part of the invaders to quickly enrich themselves. There was much cruelty to weaker races, and although all the powers were not equally guilty in this respect, none, at least, were innocent. But looking at the period as a whole, and regarding the enterprises undertaken in their true light,

— namely, as an attempt to develop, by forced coloured labour under European supervision, the resources of countries not suitable for European settlement,—a certain degree of success must be admitted to have been attained, and the enterprises undoubtedly contributed to increase, for the time being, the material wealth and resources of the powers concerned.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century the tendency of the change that was taking place began to be visible. It had become clear that the European peoples could not hope to settle permanently in the tropical lands they had occupied, and that, if the resources were to be developed, it must be by native labour under their supervision. Already, however, the effects of the altruistic development which had been so long in progress were becoming generally evident, and before the opening of the nineteenth century men had glimpses of the nature of the social revolution it was eventually to accomplish in our civilization. The institution of slavery in tropical lands under European auspices was clearly

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doomed. So also, to the more far-reaching minds, seemed another institution upon which depended, to all appearance, the continued maintenance of European enterprise and European authority in lands not suitable for the permanent settlement of the Western races.

The right of occupation and government in virtue of conquest or force tended, it was felt, to become an anachronism; it was antagonistic to, and it involved a denial of, the spirit which constituted the mainspring of that onward movement which was taking place in our civilization, and which was slowly bringing the people into the rivalry of life on conditions of equality. Although almost every European people, that had attained to any consciousness of national strength, had in the past endeavoured to imitate the military ideals of the ancient empires, and to extend their rule by conquest over other peoples of equal civilization, they had done so with ever-diminishing success. The growth of influences and conditions tending to render the realization of such aims more and more difficult was unmistakable. Any nation which would embark upon

such an enterprise, on a great scale and against a European people, would, it was felt, find in the near future forces arrayed against it of which the ancient world had no experience, and which no military skill, however great, and no national strength and resolution, however concentrated and prolonged, could entirely subdue. To keep in subjection, therefore, by purely military force a people of even greatly lower development must, it was felt, become correspondingly difficult; and this, not so much because of the fear of effective resistance in a military sense, but because of the lack of moral force on the part of the stronger peoples to initiate an effort involving a principle antagonistic to the spirit governing the development which these peoples were themselves undergoing.

Throughout the early and middle decades of the nineteenth century we have, therefore, to watch the development of this spirit and the effects it produced. Before the close of the eighteenth century the agitation against the slave-trade in the colonies had assumed large proportions. In England a motion was

carried in the House of Commons in 1792, providing for the gradual abolition of the traffic. In 1794 the French Convention decreed that all slaves throughout the French colonies should be admitted to the rights of French citizens; and, although slavery did not cease in the French dominions for some fifty years after, the Convention in this as in other matters only anticipated the future. The agitation in England against the slave-trade having been largely successful, the feeling against the employment of slaves continued to grow in strength until an Act was at length obtained in 1834, finally abolishing slavery in the British settlements, the slave-owners being awarded £20,000,000 as indemnification. The negroes in the French settlements were emancipated in 1848, those in the Dutch colonies in 1863; while the slaves in the Southern States of the American Union obtained their freedom as the result of the Civil War of 1862-65.

Meanwhile the growth of the other influence tending to undermine the position of the European races in the tropical countries they had occupied had continued. By the end of the

eighteenth century the coloured races of Hayti, under the influence of the ideas of the French Revolution, had thrown off the rule of France. Before the first quarter of the nineteenth century had passed away the Spanish territories of Central and South America—often still spoken of as if they were inhabited by Europeans, although in most of which, it must be remembered, the vast bulk of the population consists of native Indians, imported negroes, and mixed races—had, one after another, declared their independence of European rule. It came to be looked upon as only natural and inevitable that it should be so; and it was held to be only a question of time for the Dutch possessions and the remaining Spanish settlements to follow suit. The English settlements in the West Indies, it was supposed, would become independent too. They came to be regarded as being as good as gone. We have Mr. Froude's word for it that he had it on high official authority, about 1860, that all preparations for the transition had been already made. "A decision had been irrevocably taken. The troops were to be with-

drawn from the Islands, and Jamaica, Trinidad, and the English Antilles were to be masters of their own destiny."¹ The withdrawal did not take place, but the general feeling in the minds of politicians in England at the time was undoubtedly such as might have prompted such a decision.

If we turn now to the condition of affairs accompanying these events in the countries in question, we have presented to us what is probably one of the most extraordinary spectacles the world has beheld. The enterprise that once attempted to develop the resources of the countries concerned, has been to a large extent interrupted. Regarding the West Indies first, we have to note that their former prosperity has waned. The black races under the new order of things have multiplied exceedingly. Where left to themselves under British rule, whether with or without the political institutions of the advanced European peoples, they have not developed the natural resources of the rich and fertile lands they have inherited. Nor do they show any

¹ *The English in the West Indies*, p. 6.

desire to undertake the task. The descriptions we have had presented to us for many years past by writers and politicians of some of the West India Islands read like accounts of a former civilization. Decaying harbours, once crowded with shipping; ruined wharves, once busy with commerce; roofless warehouses; stately buildings falling to ruins and overgrown with tropical creepers; deserted mines and advancing forests,—these are some of the signs of the change. In Hayti, where the blacks have been independent of European control for the greater part of a century, we have even a more gloomy picture. Revolution has succeeded revolution, often accompanied by revolting crime; under the outward forms of European government every form of corruption and license has prevailed; its commerce has been more than once almost extinguished by its political revolutions; the resources of the country remain undeveloped; intercourse with white races is not encouraged, and the Black Republic, instead of advancing, is said to be drifting slowly backwards.

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Turning to the mainland of Central America and the vast territories embraced in tropical South America, once under the rule of the Spaniards and Portuguese, the spectacle is in some respects more noteworthy. In this expanse, which includes over three-fourths of the entire continental area south of the territory of the United States, we have one of the richest regions of the earth. Under the outward forms of European government it appears, however, to be slowly drifting out of our civilization. The habit has largely obtained amongst us of thinking of these countries as inhabited by European races and as included in our Western civilization,—a habit doubtless due to the tendency to regard them as colonies of European powers which have become independent after the manner of the United States. As a matter of fact this view has little to justify it. In the republics comprising the territory in question, considerably over three-fourths of the entire population are descendants of the original Indian inhabitants, or imported negroes, or mixed races. The pure white population ap-

pears to be unable to maintain itself for more than a limited number of generations without recruiting itself from the outside. It is a ^{VERY} gradually diminishing element, tending to ally ^{replace} itself to an increasing degree with "colour."

Both for climatic reasons, and in obedience to the general law of population already noticed, by which the upper strata of society (to which the white population for the most part belongs) are unable to maintain themselves apart for any considerable period, we must, apparently, look forward to the time when these territories will be almost exclusively peopled by the Black and Indian races.

Meanwhile the resources of this large region remain almost undeveloped or run to waste. During the past fifty years, the European powers may be said to have endeavoured to develop them in a manner that apparently promised to be advantageous to both parties, and not inconsistent with the spirit of the new altruistic ideas which have come to govern men's minds. Since the period of their independence, immense sums have been borrowed by the republics of cen-

tral and northern South America, with the object of developing their resources, and large amounts have also been invested by private persons in public enterprises undertaken by Europeans in these countries. But the general prevalence of those qualities which distinguish peoples of low social efficiency has been like a blight over the whole region. In nearly all the republics in question, the history of government has been the same. Under the outward forms of written laws and constitutions of the most exemplary character, they have displayed a general absence of that sense of public and private duty which has always distinguished peoples who have reached a state of high social development. Corruption in all departments of the government, insolvency, bankruptcy, and political revolutions succeeding each other at short intervals have become almost the normal incidents of public life—the accompanying features being a permanent state of uncertainty, lack of energy and enterprise amongst the people, and general commercial stagnation. Much of the territory occupied by these states

is amongst the richest in the world in natural resources. Yet we seem to have reached a stage in which the enterprise of the Western races is almost as effectively excluded therefrom, or circumscribed therein, as in the case of China. Not, however, through any spirit of exclusiveness in the people or desire to develop these resources themselves, but by, on the one hand, the lack in the inhabitants of qualities contributing to social efficiency, and, on the other, by the ascendancy in the minds of the Western peoples of that altruistic spirit which, except in a clear case of duty or necessity, deprives any attempt to assume by force the government and administration of the resources of other peoples of the moral force necessary to ensure its success.

Now it would appear probable that we have, in the present peculiar relationship of the Western peoples to the coloured races, the features of a transition of great interest and importance, the nature of which is, as yet, hardly understood. It is evident that, despite the greater consideration now shown

for the rights of the lower races, there can be no question as to the absolute ascendancy in the world to-day of the Western peoples and of Western civilization. There has been no period in history when this ascendancy has been so unquestionable and so complete as in the time in which we are living. No one can doubt that it is within the power of the leading European peoples of to-day—should they so desire—to parcel out the entire equatorial regions of the earth into a series of satrapies, and to administer their resources, not as in the past by a permanently resident population, but from the temperate regions, and under the direction of a relatively small European official population. And this without any fear of effective resistance from the inhabitants. Always, however, assuming that there existed a clear call of duty or necessity to provide the moral force necessary for such action.

It is this last stipulation which it is all-important to remember in any attempt which is made to estimate the probable course of events in the future. For it removes at once

the centre of interest and observation to the lands occupied by the European peoples. It is, in short, in the development in progress amongst these peoples, and not in the events taking place to-day in lands occupied by the black and coloured races, that we must seek for the controlling factor in the immediate future of the tropical regions of the world.¹

¹ Mr. C. H. Pearson, in a prediction which has recently attracted attention, has, it appears to the writer, made the serious mistake of estimating the future by watching the course of events outside the temperate regions, rather than by following the clue to those events which we have in the development in progress amongst the Western peoples. He accordingly ventures to foretell that "The day will come, and perhaps is not far distant, when the European observer will look round to see the globe girdled with a continuous zone of the black and yellow races, no longer too weak for aggression, or under tutelage, but independent, or practically so, in government, monopolizing the trade of their own regions, and circumscribing the industry of the European; when Chinamen and the nations of Hindostan, the States of South America, by that time predominantly Indian, and it may be African nations of the Congo and the Zambesi, under a dominant caste of foreign rulers, are represented by fleets in the European seas, invited to international conferences, and welcomed as allies in the quarrels of the civilized world. The citizens of these countries will then be taken up into the social relations of the white races, will throng the English turf, or the salons of Paris, and will be admitted to intermarriage. It is idle to say that, if all this should come to pass, our pride of place will not be humiliated. We were struggling

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Now, stress has been laid, in the preceding chapters, on the fact that we have, in the altruistic development that has been slowly taking place amongst the European peoples, the clue to the efficiency of our civilization. It is this development which — by its influence in breaking down an earlier organization of society, and by its tendency to bring, for the first time in the history of the race, all the people into the rivalry of life on a footing of equality of opportunity — has raised our Western civilization to its present position of ascendancy in the world. It must be always remembered, however, that a principal cause operating in producing it has been the doctrine peculiar to the ethical system upon which our civilization is founded — the doctrine, steadfastly and uncompromisingly held, of the native equality of all men. So great has been the resistance to amongst ourselves for supremacy in a world which we thought of as destined to belong to the Aryan and to the Christian faith, to the letters and arts and charm of social manners which we have inherited from the best times in the past. We shall wake to find ourselves elbowed and hustled, and perhaps even thrust aside, by peoples whom we looked down upon as servile and thought of as bound always to minister to our needs." — *National Life and Character*, chap. i.

be overcome, so exceptional in the history of the race has been the nature of the process of expansion through which we have passed, that only a doctrine held as this has been, and supported by the tremendous sanctions behind it, could have effected so great a social transformation. Of such importance has been the character of this process, and so strong has been the social instinct that has recognized its vital significance to the Western peoples themselves, that everything has gone down before the doctrine which produced it. It is this doctrine which has raised the negro in the Southern States of North America to the rank of citizen of the United States, despite the incongruous position which he now occupies in that country. It is before this doctrine (*because of its predominant importance to ourselves*), and not before the coloured races, that the European peoples have retreated in those tropical lands which, being unsuitable for colonization, could have been ruled and developed only under a system of military occupation.

We must, therefore, in any attempt to esti-

mate our future relationship to the coloured races outside the temperate regions, keep clearly in mind the hitherto supreme importance to the Western peoples of this altruistic development, and, therefore, of the doctrine of the native equality of men which has accompanied it.

Now, there are two great events which will, in all probability, fill a great part in the history of the twentieth century. The first will be the accomplishment, amongst the Western peoples, of the last stage of that process of social development which tends to bring all the people into the rivalry of life on conditions of social equality. The other will be the final filling up, by these peoples, of all those tracts in the temperate regions of the earth suitable for permanent occupation. As both these processes tend towards completion, it would appear that we must expect our present relationship towards the coloured races occupying territories outside the temperate zones to undergo further development. With the completion of that process of social evolution in which the doctrine of the native equality of men has played so important

a part, — and, therefore, with the probable modification of that instinct which has hitherto recognized the vital necessity to ourselves of maintaining this doctrine in its most uncompromising form, — it seems probable that there must arise a tendency to scrutinize more closely the existing differences between ourselves and the coloured races, as regards the qualities contributing to social efficiency; this tendency being accompanied by a disposition to relax our hitherto prevalent opinion that the doctrine of equality requires us to shut our eyes to those differences where political relations are concerned.

As the growth of this feeling will be coincident with the filling up to the full limit of the remaining territories suitable for European occupation, and the growing pressure of population therein, it may be expected that the inexpediency of allowing a great extent of territory in the richest region of the globe — that comprised within the tropics — to remain undeveloped, with its resources running largely to waste under the management of races of low social efficiency, will be brought home, with

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ever-growing force, to the minds of the Western peoples. [The day is probably not far distant when, with the advance science is making, we shall recognize that it is in the tropics, and not in the temperate zones, that we have the greatest food-producing and material-producing regions of the earth; that the natural highways of commerce in the world should be those which run north and south; and that we have the highest possible interest in the proper development and efficient administration of the tropical regions, and in an exchange of products therewith on a far larger scale than has been yet attempted or imagined.

The question that will, therefore, present itself for solution will be: How is the development and efficient administration of these regions to be secured? The ethical development that has taken place in our civilization has rendered the experiment, once made to develop their resources by forced native labour, no longer possible, or permissible, even if possible. We have already abandoned, under pressure of experience, the idea, which at one time prevailed, that the tropical regions might be occu-

pied, and permanently colonized by European races, as vast regions in the temperate climes have been. Within a measurable period in the future, and under pressure of experience, we shall probably also have to abandon the idea which has in like manner prevailed for a time, that the coloured races left to themselves possess the qualities necessary to the development of the rich resources of the lands they have inherited. For, a clearer insight into the laws that have shaped the course of human evolution must bring us to see that the process which has gradually developed the energy, enterprise, and social efficiency of the race northwards, and which has left less richly endowed in this respect the peoples inhabiting the regions where the conditions of life are easiest, is no passing accident or the result of circumstances changeable at will, but part of the cosmic order of things which we have no power to alter.

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It would seem that the solution which must develop itself under pressure of circumstances in the future is, that the European races will gradually come to realize that the tropics must

be administered from the temperate regions. There is no insurmountable difficulty in the task. Even now all that is required to ensure its success is a clearly defined conception of moral necessity. This, it would seem, must come under the conditions referred to, when the energetic races of the world, having completed the colonization of the temperate regions, are met with the spectacle of the resources of the richest regions of the earth still running largely to waste under inefficient management.



In discussing the present condition of the tropical regions of America no reference was made to the experiment which, in the corresponding regions of the eastern hemisphere, has been taking place under British rule in India. For the past half-century the relationship existing between England and India has been the cause of considerable heart-searching and conflict of opinion amongst politicians of the more advanced school in England. The means whereby a footing was at first obtained in that country had little to distinguish them from those already mentioned which led the

European races at one time to occupy vast territories in tropical regions. In the altruistic development of the nineteenth century which has so profoundly affected the relationships of the European peoples to other races, it has come to be felt by many politicians that the position of Great Britain in India involved a denial of the spirit actuating the advanced peoples, and that it tended to become in consequence morally indefensible. This was undoubtedly the feeling in the minds of a considerable section of persons in England at no distant date in the past.

Nevertheless, as time has gone by, other features of the position have pressed themselves with growing force upon the minds of the British people. Exceptionally influenced as the British nation has been by the altruistic spirit underlying our civilization, its administration of the Indian peninsula has never been marked by those features which distinguished Spanish rule in the American Continent. English rule has tended more and more to involve the conscientious discharge of the duties of our position towards the native races. We

we have respected their rights, their ideas, their religions, and even their independence to the utmost extent compatible with the efficient administration of the government of the
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Esults The result has been remarkable. There has been for long in progress in India a steady development of the resources of the country which cannot be paralleled in any other tropical region of the world. Public works on the most extensive scale and of the most permanent character have been undertaken and completed; roads and bridges have been built; mining and agriculture have been developed; irrigation works, which have added considerably to the fertility and resources of large tracts of country, have been constructed; even sanitary reform is beginning to make considerable progress. European enterprise too, attracted by security and integrity in the government, has been active. Railways have been gradually extended over the Peninsula. Indian tea, almost unknown a short time ago, has, through the planting and cultivation of suitable districts under European supervision, already

5% for us
90% for them

come into serious competition with the Chinese article in the markets of the world. The cotton industry of India has already entered on friendly rivalry with that of Lancashire. Other industries, suited to the conditions of the country, are in like manner rising into prominence, without any kind of artificial protection or encouragement; the only contribution of the ruling powers to their welfare being the guarantee of social order and the maintenance of the conditions of efficiency and integrity in the administration of the departments of government.

The commerce of the country has expanded in a still more striking manner. In the largest open market in the world, that which Great Britain provides, India now stands third on the list as contributor of produce, ranking only below the United States and France, and above Germany and all the British Australian colonies together. She takes, too, as much as she gives, for her exports to and imports from the United Kingdom nearly balance each other. In the character of importer she is, indeed, the largest of all the customers of

Great Britain, the Australasian colonies and the United States coming after her on the list. This exchange of products has all the appearance of being as profitable as it is creditable to both parties concerned.

Very different, too, is the spirit animating both sides in this development of the resources of India as compared with that which prevailed in past times. There is no question now of the ruling race merely exploiting India to their own selfish advantage. Great Britain desires to share in the prosperity she has assisted in creating, it is true; but, for the most part, she shares indirectly and in participation with the rest of the world. India sends her products to British markets, but she is equally free to send them elsewhere. As her development proceeds she offers a larger market for the products of British industries; but England has reserved to herself no exclusive advantages in Indian markets. Under the principle of free trade all the rest of the world may compete with her on equal terms in those markets. Her gain tends to be a gain, not only to India, but to civilization in general.

The object-lesson that all this has afforded has not been without its effect on English public opinion—an effect which deepens as the true nature of the relationship existing between the two countries is more generally understood. Nor is there lack of similar experiences elsewhere. The work undertaken by France in Algeria and Tunis, although it has differed in many important respects from that performed by Great Britain in India, and although it has been undoubtedly more directly inspired by the thought of immediate benefit to French interests,¹ has been on the whole, it must be frankly confessed, work done in the cause of civilization in general. Within

¹ For instance, the *Times* prints the following despatch from its correspondent at Dunkirk, dated 4th August, 1893: "From 1st October the carrying trade between Algeria and France will be exclusively confined to French vessels, all foreign Powers, including Great Britain, having given up their right to participate in it. This measure will chiefly affect British ships which held the bulk of the trade. At this port alone the British tonnage employed in trading with Algeria amounted in 1891 to 34,507 tons net register, and in 1892 to 31,103 tons. Had any European Power withheld its sanction the trade must, in virtue of existing treaties, have remained open to all flags. None save England, however, were sufficiently interested in it to oppose this new concession to protection."

the past decade we have had a more striking lesson still in the case of Egypt. Some seventeen years ago that country, although within sight of, and in actual contact with, European civilization, had reached a condition of disaster through misgovernment, extravagance, and oppression without example, as a recent writer, who speaks with authority, has insisted, "in the financial history of any country from the remotest ages to the present time."¹ Within thirteen years the public debt of a country of only 6,000,000 inhabitants had been increased from 3,000,000 to 89,000,000, or nearly thirty-fold.² With a submissive population, a corrupt bureaucracy, and a reckless, ambitious, and voluptuous ruler, surrounded by adventurers of every kind, we had all the elements of national bankruptcy and ruin. Things drifted from bad to worse, but it was felt that nothing could be more at variance, theoretically, with the principles of the Liberal party then in

¹ *England in Egypt*, by Alfred Milner, late Under-Secretary for Finance in Egypt, now Sir Alfred Milner, Governor of Cape Colony and High Commissioner for South Africa. London, 1893.

² *Ibid.*

power in England, than active interference by the English people in the affairs of that country. Yet within a few years circumstances had proved stronger than prevailing views, and England found herself most unwillingly compelled to interfere by force in the government of Egypt; and obliged to attempt, in the administration of its affairs, what, in the peculiar conditions prevailing, appeared to be one of the most hopeless, difficult, and thankless tasks ever undertaken by a nation.

Yet the results have been most striking. Within a few years the country had emerged from a condition of chronic and apparently hopeless bankruptcy, and attained to a position of solvency, with a revenue tending to outrun expenditure. Great improvements in the administration of the state departments had been effected. Public works which have greatly contributed to the prosperity of the country had been completed. The Kurbash had been suppressed; the Corvée had been reduced; the Barrage had been repaired; the native administration of justice had been im-

proved. Under an improved system of irrigation the area of land won from the desert for cultivation was enormously increased. The cotton crop, representing one-third of the entire agricultural wealth of the country, had increased 50 per cent in a few years. The foreign trade increased to the highest point it had ever attained; and the credit of the country so far improved that within nine years the price of its Unified stock had risen from 59 to 98.

All these results were attained by simple means; by the exercise of qualities which are not usually counted either brilliant or intellectual, but which nevertheless are, above all others, characteristic of peoples capable of attaining a high degree of social efficiency, and of those peoples only. British influence in Egypt, Mr. Milner maintains, "is not exercised to impose an uncongenial foreign system upon a reluctant people. It is a force making for the triumph of the simplest ideas of honesty, humanity, and justice, to the value of which Egyptians are just as much alive as any one else."¹

¹ *England in Egypt*, by Alfred Milner, late Under-Secretary for Finance in Egypt. London, 1893.

Nor can it be said that Great Britain has exploited Egypt in her own interest, or obtained any exclusive advantage by the development of the resources of the country. It is true that she does benefit, and benefit considerably, by the improvement which has followed. But it is in the same manner as in India. For, says Mr. Milner, "the improvement of Egyptian administration leads directly to the revival of Egyptian trade, and in that increase, England, who has more than half the trade of Egypt in her hands, possesses a direct interest of the most unmistakable kind. Our own country does thus, after all, obtain a recompense, and a recompense at once most substantial and most honourable for any sacrifices she may make for Egypt. She gains, not at the expense of others, but along with others. If she is the greatest gainer, it is simply because she is the largest partner in the business."¹ But "neither directly nor indirectly has Great Britain drawn from her predominant position any profit at the

¹ *England in Egypt*, by Alfred Milner, late Under-Secretary for Finance in Egypt. London, 1893.

expense of other nations." Her gain is there also the gain of civilization.

It is to be expected that as time goes on, and an approach is made to the conditions before mentioned, such object-lessons as these will not be without their effect on the minds of the European races. It will probably come to be recognized that experiments in developing the resources of regions unsuitable for European colonization, such as that now in progress in India, differ essentially both in character and in spirit from all past attempts. It will probably be made clear, and that at no distant date, that the last thing our civilization is likely to permanently tolerate is the wasting of the resources of the richest regions of the earth through the lack of the elementary qualities of social efficiency in the races possessing them. The right of those races to remain in possession will be recognized; but it will be no part of the future conditions of such recognition that they shall be allowed to prevent the utilization of the immense natural resources which

¹ *England in Egypt*, by Alfred Milner, late Under-Secretary for Finance in Egypt. London, 1893.

they have in charge. At no remote date, with the means at the disposal of our civilization, the development of these resources must become one of the most pressing and vital questions engaging the attention of the Western races. The advanced societies have, to some extent, already intuitively perceived the nature of the coming change. We have evidence of a general feeling, which recognizes the immense future importance of the tropical regions of the earth to the energetic races, in that partition of Africa amongst the European powers which forms one of the most remarkable signs of the times at the end of the nineteenth century. The same feeling may be perceived even in the United States, where the necessity for the future predominance of the influence of the English-speaking peoples over the American Continents is already recognized by a kind of national instinct that may be expected to find clearer expression as time goes on.

Lastly, it will materially help towards the solution of this and other difficult problems, if we are in a position, as it appears we shall be, to say with greater clearness in the future,

than we have been able to do in the past, what it is constitutes superiority and inferiority of race. We shall probably have to set aside many of our old ideas on the subject. Neither in respect alone of colour, nor of descent, nor even of the possession of high intellectual capacity, can science give us any warrant for speaking of one race as superior to another. The evolution which man is undergoing is, over and above everything else, a social evolution. There is, therefore, but one absolute test of superiority. It is only the race possessing in the highest degree the qualities contributing to social efficiency that can be recognized as having any claim to superiority.

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But these qualities are not as a rule of the brilliant order, nor such as strike the imagination. Occupying a high place amongst them are such characteristics as strength and energy of character, humanity, probity and integrity, and simple-minded devotion to conceptions of duty in such circumstances as may arise. Those who incline to attribute the very wide influence which the English-speaking peoples

have come to exercise in the world to the Machiavellian schemes of their rulers are often very wide of the truth. This influence is, to a large extent, due to qualities not at all of a showy character. It is, for instance, a fact of more than superficial significance, and one worth remembering, that in the South American Republics, where the British peoples move amongst a mixed crowd of many nationalities, the quality which has come to be accepted as distinctive of them is simply "the word of an Englishman." In like manner it is qualities such as humanity, strength, and uprightness of character, and devotion to the immediate calls of duty without thought of brilliant ends and ideal results, which have largely contributed to render English rule in India successful when similar experiments elsewhere have been disastrous. It is to the exercise of qualities of this class that we must also chiefly *condemne* attribute the success which has so far attended the political experiment of extraordinary difficulty which England has undertaken in Egypt. And it is upon just the same qualities, and not upon any ideal schemes for solving the social

problem, that we must depend to carry us safely through the social revolution which will be upon us in the twentieth century, and which will put to the most severe test which it has yet had to endure, the social efficiency of the various sections of the Western peoples.

It must be noticed that the conclusion here emphasized is the same towards which the historian with the methods hitherto at his command has been already slowly feeling his way. Said Mr. Lecky recently, speaking of the prosperity of nations, and the causes thereof as indicated by history: "Its foundation is laid in pure domestic life, in commercial integrity, in a high standard of moral worth and of public spirit, in simple habits, in courage, uprightness, and a certain soundness and moderation of judgment which springs quite as much from character as from intellect. If you would form a wise judgment of the future of a nation, observe carefully whether these qualities are increasing or decaying. Observe especially what qualities count for most in public life. Is character becoming of greater or less importance? Are the men who obtain

the highest posts in the nation, men of whom in private life, and irrespective of party, competent judges speak with genuine respect? Are they of sincere convictions, consistent lives, indisputable integrity? . . . It is by observing this moral current that you can best cast the horoscope of a nation.”¹

This is the utterance of that department of knowledge which, sooner or later, when its true foundations are perceived, must become the greatest of all the sciences. It is but the still, small voice which anticipates the verdict which will be pronounced with larger knowledge, and in more emphatic terms, by evolutionary science, when at no distant date it must enable us, as we have never been enabled before, “to look beyond the smoke and turmoil of our petty quarrels, and to detect, in the slow developments of the past, the great permanent forces that are steadily bearing nations onward to improvement or decay.”

¹ *The Political Value of History*, by W. E. H. Lecky.

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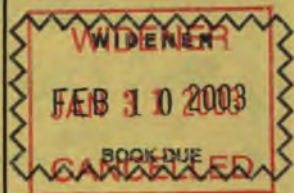
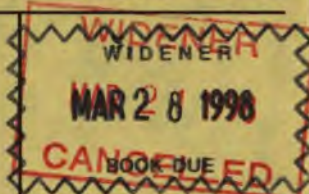


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